

Report of the Fourth Annual Session

OF THE

Federation of Organized Trades and Labor  
Unions of the United States  
and Canada

HELD IN

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

October 7, 8, 9 and 10

1884

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Published by Direction of the Federation



FEDERATION  
OF  
**Organized Trades and Labor Unions**  
OF THE  
**UNITED STATES AND CANADA.**

**Declaration of Principles.**

**PREAMBLE.**

WHEREAS, a struggle is going on in the nations of the civilized world between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle, between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions of all nations if not combined for mutual protection and benefit; and

WHEREAS, the history of the wage workers of all countries is but the history of constant struggle and misery engendered by ignorance and disunion; and

WHEREAS, the history of the non-producers of all ages proves that a minority, thoroughly organized, may work wonders for good or evil;

It therefore behooves the representatives of the workers of North America, in Congress assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the people of our country as will unite them, for all time to come, to secure the recognition of the rights to which they are justly entitled. Conforming to the old adage, "In union there is strength," the formation of a federation embracing every trade and labor organization in North America, a union founded upon a basis as broad as the land we live in, is our greatest hope, for the past history of trades unions proves that small organizations, well conducted, have accomplished great good, yet that their efforts have not been of that lasting character which a thorough unification of all the different branches of industrial workers is bound to secure.

Conforming to the spirit of the times and to the necessities of the industrial classes, we make the following

**PLATFORM.**

1. The national eight-hour law is one intended to benefit labor and to relieve it partly of its heavy burdens, and the evasion of its true spirit and intent is contrary to the best interests of the nation. We therefore demand the enforcement of said law in the spirit

of its designers, and urge the enactment of eight-hour laws by State legislatures and municipal corporations.

2. We demand the passage of laws in State legislatures and in Congress for the incorporation of trades and labor unions, in order that the property of the laboring classes may have the same protection as the property of other classes.

3. We demand the passage of such legislative enactments as will enforce, by compulsion, the education of children, for if the State has the right to exact certain compliance with its demands, then it is also the duty of the State to educate its people to the proper understanding of such demands.

4. We demand the passage of laws in the several States forbidding the employment of children under the age of fourteen years, in any capacity, under penalty of fine and imprisonment.

5. We demand the enactment of uniform apprentice laws throughout the country; that the apprentice to a mechanical trade may be made to serve a sufficient term of apprenticeship, and be provided by his employer, in his progress to maturity, with proper and sufficient facilities to finish him as a competent workman.

6. It is hereby declared the sense of this Congress that convict or prison contract labor is a species of slavery in its worst form; it pauperizes labor, demoralizes the honest manufacturer, and degrades the very criminal whom it employs; and, as many articles of use and consumption made in our prisons under the contract system come directly and detrimentally in competition with the products of honest labor, we demand that the laws providing for labor under the contract system herein complained of be repealed.

7. What is known as the "order" or "truck" system of payment, instead of lawful currency as value for labor performed, is one not only of gross imposition, but of downright swindle to the honest laborer and mechanic, and we demand its entire abolition. Active measures should be taken to eradicate the evil by the passage of laws imposing fine and imprisonment

upon all individuals, firms, or corporations who continue to practice the same.

8. We demand the passage of such laws as will secure to the mechanic and workman the first lien upon property, the product of his labor, sufficient in all cases to justify his legal and just claims.

9. We demand the repeal and erasure from the statute books of all acts known as conspiracy laws, as applied to organizations of labor in the regulation of wages.

10. We recognize the wholesome effects of a Bureau of Labor Statistics as created by the National Government and in several States, and recommend for their management the appointment of a proper person, identified with the laboring classes of the country.

11. We demand the law by the United States Congress to prevent the importation of all foreign laborers under contract.

12. We declare that the system of letting out national, State, and municipal work by contract tends to intensify the competition between workmen, and we demand the speedy abolishment of the same.

13. We demand the passage by our various legislative bodies of an employers' liability act, which shall give employees the same right to damages for personal injuries that all other persons have.

14. We recommend all trades and labor organizations to secure proper representation in all law-making bodies, by means of the ballot, and to use all honorable measures by which this result can be accomplished.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTIONS

1. That we urge upon the legislatures of our several States the passage of laws of license upon stationary engineers, and the enforcement of proper restrictions, which will better preserve and render protection to life and property.

2. That we demand strict laws for the inspection and ventilation of mines, factories, and workshops, and sanitary supervision of all food and dwellings.

3. We demand of our Representatives in the National Legislature that they declare such land grants as are not earned by railroad or other corporations forfeited and to restore the same to the public domain.

#### ORGANIZATION.

##### ARTICLE I.—NAME.

"This association shall be known as "The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States of America and Canada," and shall consist of such trades and labor unions as shall, after being duly admitted, conform to its rules and regulations, and pay all contributions required to carry out the objects of this Federation.

##### ARTICLE II.—OBJECT.

The objects of this Federation shall be:

Section 1. The encouragement and formation of trades and labor unions.

Sec. 2. The encouragement and formation of trades and labor assemblies or councils.

Sec. 3. The encouragement and formation of State and Provincial federations of trades and labor unions.

Sec. 4. The encouragement and formation of national and international trades unions.

Sec. 5. To secure legislation favorable to the interests of the industrial classes.

#### ARTICLE III.—SESSIONS.

The sessions of the Federation shall be held annually, on the second Tuesday in December, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Congress.

#### ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

Section 1. The Federation shall be composed of representatives of national or international unions, State, district, or local federations of labor, and of local unions not represented through delegates from national unions, State or local federations of labor.

Sec. 2. The basis of representation in the Congress of this Federation shall be: From national or international unions, for 1,000 members or less, one delegate; for 4,000, two delegates; for 8,000, three delegates; for 16,000, four delegates; for 32,000, five delegates; and so on. From State or Provincial federations of trades unions, two delegates. From local trade assemblies or councils, district assemblies of the Knights of Labor, or local trades unions, one delegate. But no local trades unions shall be entitled to representation which has not been organized six months prior to the session of this body.

Sec. 3. No organization which has seceded from any State, national, or international organization shall be allowed a representation or recognition from this Federation.

#### ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

Section 1. On the last day of the annual sessions of the Federation the delegates shall elect a Legislative Committee of nine, consisting of President; First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Vice-Presidents, Secretary, and Treasurer.

Sec. 2. In the election of officers the election of Secretary shall take precedence.

Sec. 3. After the organization of the Federation the following committees, consisting of five members each, shall be appointed by the President:

1. Committee on Standing Orders and Laws.

2. Committee on Resolutions.

3. Committee on Finances and Expenditures.

4. Committee on the Report of the Legislative Committee.

#### ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

Section 1. The duties of the Legislative Committee shall be to exercise a supervision over the organization and the execution of its laws, and to carry out such instructions as may from time to time be given them at the sessions of this Federation.

Sec. 2. The duties of the Committee on Standing Orders and Laws shall be to exercise a supervision over the revision of all laws, platforms, rules, and standing orders, and be authorized to report such recommendations and amendments as they deem necessary.

Sec. 3. The Committee on Resolutions shall consider all resolutions referred to them by the Federation, and report the same with such amendments or recommendations as they deem advisable.

Sec. 4. The Committee on Finance and Expenditures shall have full supervision over the financial affairs of the Federation, and make such recommendations as to them seem necessary to meet the financial requirements of this body for the ensuing year.

Sec. 5. The Committee on the Report of the Legislative Committee shall consider the report of that committee, and make such recommendations regarding the same as they may deem expedient.

#### ARTICLE VII.—REVENUE.

Section 1. The revenue of this Federation shall be derived from each national or international trade or labor union and each trades assembly or council or district assembly of the Knights of Labor affiliated with this Federation, and shall be assessed upon the following basis: For 1,000 members or less, \$10 per annum; 1,000 to 4,000, \$20 per annum; for a number exceeding one thousand, one cent per member per annum. Local or State trades assemblies or assemblies of Knights of Labor whose membership exceeds 1,000 shall be required to pay one cent per member, but in no case shall said tax exceed \$25.

Sec. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in this Federation unless the per capita tax is paid in full.

#### ARTICLE VIII.—ACCOUNTS.

Section 1. The accounts of the year shall be closed fourteen days prior to the assembling of the Congress, and a balance sheet duly certified and presented to the same.

Sec. 2. The remuneration for loss of time by the Legislative Committee shall be at the rate of \$3 *per diem*; traveling and incidental expenses to be also defrayed.

#### ARTICLE IX.—STRIKE BENEFITS.

[This article is to be ratified by all organizations represented in the Federation, and if approved by a two-third vote of the actual membership of this Federation, then it becomes a law; otherwise it is to remain void and inoperative.]

Section 1. It shall be one of the cardinal principles of this Federation to secure the unification of all organizations under its jurisdiction upon one common financial basis, to assist its members in the event of a strike or lockout, if properly approved by the respective organizations to which they may be attached.

Sec. 2. The Legislative Committee of this Federation are hereby constituted the legal authority to approve and manage all strikes and lockouts and to co-operate with the local organizations in the event of any such difficulty, and shall be empowered to levy assessments upon the different organizations under the jurisdiction of the Federation, enforce its collections under penalty of suspension after reasonable time has been granted for payment of the same, and have power to distribute the same as provided for by this article.

Sec. 3. In the event of a strike or lockout in any organization under the jurisdiction of this Federation, the Legislative Committee shall be empowered to lay an assessment not to exceed two (2) cents, weekly, upon members under the jurisdiction of this Federation.

Sec. 4. The Legislative Committee of this Federation shall not take into consideration or approve of any application for strike benefits unless the strike or lockout shall have been approved of by their district, State, national or international organization, and shall have been in progress for at least sixty days at the date of such approval.

Sec. 5. The Legislative Committee of this Federation shall be required to make an equal

distribution of all assessments collected, and shall be empowered to demand a report when they deem proper, and enforce such other regulations for the management of strikes or lockouts as in their judgment they may deem advisable.

Sec. 6. The benefits to members on strikes or lockout shall in no case exceed the sum of \$3 per week.

#### RULES

1. At the appointed time the chairman shall call the Congress to order.

2. During the hours of meeting no delegate will be allowed to leave the room, unless on special business.

3. Every delegate, when he rises to speak, shall respectfully address the chair. While speaking, he shall confine himself to the question.

4. Should two or more rise to speak at the same time, the chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.

5. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, unless to call him to order for words spoken or for the purpose of explanation.

6. If a delegate, while speaking, be called to order, he shall, at the request of the chair, take his seat until the question of order is determined, when, if permitted, he may proceed again.

7. A delegate shall not speak more than once on the same subject or question until all who wish to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so, nor more than twice without permission from the house, nor any longer than ten minutes at one time.

8. A question shall not be subject to debate until it has been seconded and stated from the chair, and it shall be reduced to writing at the request of any member.

9. When a question is before the house, no motion shall be in order except to adjourn, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide, to commit, or to amend, which motions shall severally have precedence in the order herein arranged.

10. A motion to lay on the table shall be put without debate.

11. A motion for a reconsideration shall not be received, unless made in the same session by a delegate who voted in the majority.

12. Any delegate who shall misbehave himself in the meeting, or disturb the harmony or order thereof, either by abusive, disorderly, or profane language, or shall refuse obedience to the presiding officer, shall be admonished of his offense from the chair, and if he offend again, he shall be excluded from the room for the session, and afterward dealt with as the Congress may determine.

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS

1. Roll call of officers and delegates.
2. Reading minutes of previous session.
3. Report of Committee on Credentials.
4. Reports of officers.
5. Reports of regular committees.
6. Reports of special committees.
7. Unfinished business.
8. New business.
9. Good of the Federation.

#### STANDING ORDERS

1. The annual meeting of this Federation shall be held on the second Tuesday in Decem-

ber, at such place as the delegates to preceding Congress may have selected.

2. The time of the meeting shall be as follows: On the first day, to assemble at noon; on all other days at 10 A. M., adjourn at 12:30; reassemble at 1:30, and adjourn at 5 P. M. each day.

3. At the opening of the Congress the chairman of the Legislative Committee shall take the chair until the Congress has elected its own President, which shall be its first business. The Congress shall then elect a Vice-President, two Secretaries, two Auditors, a Doorkeeper, and Messenger.

4. A Standing Orders Committee shall then be elected, to whom shall be remitted the whole business of the Congress, the discussions, together with the whole financial arrangement of the Congress.

5. The Congress having been formally opened by the President, the Legislative Committee shall present their report for the past year, which shall be read by the Secretary, and shall be laid on the table for discussion by the Congress; said report shall contain a list of the committee meetings, with dates and names of those present.

6. The reader of a paper shall be allowed twenty minutes; the mover of a resolution, fifteen minutes; succeeding speakers, ten minutes each. No one to speak more than twice on any one subject.

7. No second amendment to an original proposition shall be put to vote until the amendment is disposed of.

8. No papers shall be read except those which are required for legislative purposes; no member to read more than one paper.

9. All papers shall be sent to the Secretary of the Legislative Committee at least two weeks before the meeting of the ensuing Congress, the same to be read and arranged by the committee, in order to facilitate the business of the Congress.

10. Should a vacancy occur in the office of Secretary or Treasurer between the annual meetings of the Congress, the Legislative Committee shall have the power to fill the vacancy from their own number.

11. The duties of the Legislative Committee shall be to watch legislative measures directly affecting the question of labor, to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Congress may direct, or as the exigencies of the time and circumstances may demand.

12. No candidate shall be elected on the Legislative Committee unless he is a delegate from his own trade society, or represents a trades council; and the body so represented must have contributed its capitation tax during the year previous to his nomination.

13. All surplus moneys, after the payment of the expenses of the Congress, shall be handed over to the Treasurer of the Legislative Committee, for the general purpose of such committee.

14. The Legislative Committee shall assist and co-operate with the local committee of the city where the next Congress is to be held, for the purpose of making the arrangements as complete as possible, and preparing the questions

to be discussed, and together to take such joint action as the business or other special circumstances of the time may render necessary or desirable.

15. A subcommittee of the Legislative Committee, consisting of the Secretary and Treasurer, shall meet two days before the meeting of each Congress, to arrange matters for the Congress.

16. The chairman and secretary of the Legislative Committee shall be members of the succeeding Congress from which they have been credited, but without a vote.

#### DELEGATES TO THE FOURTH ANNUAL SESSION

Amalgamated Society of Engineers, etc.—W. W. McClelland, 335 West Thirteenth street, New York.

Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America—Gabriel Edmonston, 719 Twelfth street, N. W., Washington, D. C.; T. P. Doran, 105 Sigel street, Chicago, Ill.

Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly—A. C. Cameron, 259, Park avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Chicago Typographical Union No. 16.—Henry Askew, "Herald" Office, Chicago, Ill.

Cigar-makers' International Union—Fred. Blend, Evansville, Ind.; Harry Otten, 42 Catherine street, Albany, N. Y.; C. W. Rowan, 125 S. Clarke, Room 29, Chicago, Ill.

Cigar-Makers' No. 14—Aug. Stirmel, Chicago, Ill.

Cigar-Makers' No. 54—Emil Levy, 933 East Michigan street, Evansville, Ind.

Cincinnati Trades and Labor Assembly—M. D. Connolly, 318 Madison street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Columbia Typographical Union No. 101—William R. Ramsey, 820 First street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Federation of Labor of Washington, D. C.—Edward W. Oyster, 943 Q street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Granite-Cutters' National Union—James O'Sullivan, Thirty-fourth street and Ridge avenue, Philadelphia, Penn.

Illinois State Federation—J. P. McGinley, 363 Sedwick street, Chicago, Ill.

International Furniture Workers—Ernst Iowa, 144 Peoria street, Chicago, Ill.

International Seamen's Union—R. Powers, 99 West Randolph street, Chicago, Ill.; Joseph Bernard, 187 East Water street, Milwaukee, Wis.

International Typographical Union—W. J. Hammond, "City Item" Office, 39 Natchez street, New Orleans, La.; John F. Hogan, "Union" Office, Brooklyn, N. Y.; August Donath, 1405 Fifth street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Journeyman Tailors' National Union—James W. Smith, 947 College street, Springfield, Ill.

Queen City Assembly No. 280, Knights of Labor—William B. Ogden, 65 West Fourth street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Trades and Labor Assembly of Minneapolis, Minn.—N. P. Finnegan, Minneapolis, Minn.

Typographical Union No. 3—Joseph B. Waterhouse, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Fourth Annual Session of the Federation  
OF  
**Organized Trades and Labor Unions**  
OF THE  
**UNITED STATES AND CANADA**  
1884

**REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS. FIRST DAY—Morning Session**

Schloesser's Hall,  
Chicago, October, 7, 1884.

The Fourth Annual Session of The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada met at noon on the above date, P. H. McLogan, chairman of Legislative Committee, presiding.

Mr. Julius Grinnel, in behalf of the city of Chicago, and Mark L. Crawford, President, in behalf of the Chicago Trades and Labor Assembly, extended a cordial and hearty welcome to the delegates to the Federation.

On motion, the Legislative Committee were appointed to act as Committee on Credentials, and adjourned until 3 o'clock P. M.

**Afternoon Session.**

At 3 o'clock P. M. the Federation was called to order by the chairman, P. H. McLogan.

The Legislative Committee, acting as Committee on Credentials, reported the following organizations as entitled to representation by the following-named persons.

(See list of Delegates, page 6.)

Signed,

P. H. McLOGAN, R. POWERS,  
G. EDMONSTON, W. W. McCLELLAND,  
M. D. CONNOLLY, ROBT. HOWARD.

The report of the committee was received.

The credentials of Jacob Selig, delegate from the Cigar-Makers' Progressive Union, of Chicago, were objected to, and, on motion, referred back to the committee.

On motion, the Federation went into an election of officers to serve during the session, with the following result:

W. J. HAMMOND—President.

R. POWERS—Vice-President.

M. D. CONNOLLY, EMIL LEVY—Secretaries.

FRED. COOK—Doorkeeper.

JOS. B. WATERHOUSE, JAMES W. SMITH—Auditors.

The representatives from the Cigar-Makers' International Union offered the following:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Federation of Trades and Labor Union of the United States and Canada:

Gentlemen: We desire to bring to your especial notice the following resolution adopted at the last meeting of the Federation, held at New York city, and published on page 16 of the last proceedings, which reads as follows, to-wit:

"RESOLVED, That the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions, in convention, consider a system by which one trade can assist another in time of trouble, financially as well as morally, as essential to the permanent organization of this Federation."

The Cigar-Makers' International Union of America, in convention assembled at Toronto, Ontario, in September, 1883, approved of this resolution by the following proceedings:

"Representatives Blend and Compers presented a supplementary report as delegates to the Congress of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions, and presented the following resolution:

"WHEREAS, the Congress of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions at its last session, held in New York city, in August, 1883, for the better unification of the various trades and Labor organizations agitate the advisability of making the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions protective in its mission, in the event of strikes and lock-outs, or any other emergency affecting the best interests of the laboring masses; and

"WHEREAS, your representatives to said Congress were favorable to said unification, but without authority to pledge our organization; therefore be it

"RESOLVED, That the next representative to the Congress of the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions are hereby authorized to pledge our International Union to any amount not to exceed ten (10) per cent. of the income of our organization."

Representative Otten offered the following amendment:

"That this resolution shall take effect only when the other associations affiliated to the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions shall have adopted the same course."

Representatives Hagan and Jones moved to lay the whole subject on the table until after the Committee on Constitution has rendered their report, which was adopted.

The convention then proceeded to the consideration of the resolution offered by Messrs. Blend and Compers in reference to the unification of trades.

Representative Kirchner moved to strike out 10 per cent. and insert 2 per cent., which was agreed to.

Representative Otten moved that this resolution shall not take effect until all other trades have taken the same action.

Representative Dernel moved to amend the amendment by striking out "all" and inserting "majority," which was lost, and the amendment of Representative Otten agreed to.

The resolution was then agreed to as amended.

Your representatives to the Federation of Federation of Trades and Labor Unions from the Cigar-Makers' International Union of America would respectfully recommend that this Federation would instruct its Legislative Committee to report to this session resolutions or laws embodying the provisions or principles of the above resolution so formulated to conform to the best interests of the various trades and labor organizations under the jurisdiction of this Federation.

Respectfully submitted,

FRED BLEND,

C. W. ROWAN,

HARRY OTTEN,

Delegates C. M. I. U. of A.

EMIL LEVY, Delegate from C. M. U., No. 54.

The communication was read by the Secretary and subsequently referred to the Committee on Standing Orders.

Mr. Hogan, of Brooklyn, N. Y., offered the following:

WHEREAS, the workmen of the United States have been repeatedly humbugged and swindled by so-called platforms of political parties, professing interest in our welfare at every ensuing election; and

WHEREAS, The most conspicuous outrage of the present generation has been perpetrated on us by the New York Tribune, professing to be our friend and the advocate *par excellence* of protection to American mechanics, while at the same time practically employing what might be termed imported scab labor; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That Whitelaw Reid and all connected with the publication of the New York Tribune be, and are hereby, denounced as enemies to the fundamental principles of the Constitution of the United States and our form of government—protection to labor.

RESOLVED, That we earnestly recommend the wage workers of this free Republic to

regard and treat the said Whitelaw Reid and his newspaper, the New York Tribune, as an enemy of the working classes.

RESOLVED, That we continue to boycott and denounce the said Reid and the said Tribune while the name of independent American mechanic is known in the land.

The resolutions were fully and freely discussed by Messrs. Hogan, Donath, Powers, and Otten, after which they were unanimously adopted.

On motion of Richard Powers, a committee on Standing Orders, consisting of five delegates, were elected, as follows: Fred Blend, Jas. O'Sullivan, August Donath, W. W. McClelland, and J. P. McGinley.

Mr. McClelland offered a motion to print the proceedings daily for the use of the delegates.

Referred to Legislative Committee.

Credentials were presented from the Illinois State Federation, but as no provision had been made to pay the whole of the per-capita tax, all except one were withdrawn.

Gabriel Edmonston, of Washington, D. C., submitted a resolution fixing May 1, 1886, as the time for a simultaneous establishment of eight hours as a legal day's labor for all trades represented in the Federation.

Mr. Edmonston stated that this proposition was laid before the Carpenters through their official journal, and their delegates were instructed to present it to this Congress for their consideration. He also said that it was not his purpose to press the resolution for its final passage by this Congress, but to allow it to be discussed by the delegates, and at the proper time to move to refer the matter to the next Congress for adoption.

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Standing Orders.

Adjourned to meet Wednesday, at 9 o'clock A. M.

## SECOND DAY—Morning Session.

The Federation was called to order at 9 o'clock A. M. by the President, W. J. Hammond.

The Committee on Standing Orders reported the Rules and Order of Business, which was adopted.

(See Rules and Order of Business, page 5.)

The roll of officers and delegates was called and absentees noted.

The minutes of Tuesday were read, and, after correction, adopted.

The special committee appointed by the Third Annual Congress to collect funds to assist the female telegraph operators victimized

during the strike against the Western Union Telegraph Company reported as follows:

Amount collected .....	\$167.59
Amount disbursed .....	161.70
Balance ..	\$ 5.89

Signed,

SAMUEL GOMPERS,

Chairman.

JOHN H. FRASER,

Secretary of Committee.

W. W. McCLELLAND,

Treasurer of Committee.

The report was approved and ordered to be placed on file.

The Legislative Committee, acting as Committee on Credentials, reported on the credentials of Jacob Selig, from the Progressive Cigar



Makers' Union, recommending that he be not admitted as a delegate; that the per-capita tax be returned to him, and that the future Legislative Committee be instructed to use their best efforts to adjust the unhappy difficulties between the contending bodies.

Report of committee was received and adopted.

A telegraphic communication was received from the New Jersey Eight-hour League, urging action on the eight-hour question.

On motion, the Treasurer was ordered to send a suitable and favorably reply.

On the recommendation of the Legislative Committee, a committee of five were appointed to take charge of the prize essay and to award the prize.

The committee were as follows: A. C. Cameron, J. W. Smith, E. W. Oyster, Harry Otten, and Jos. Bernard.

On motion, a recess of ten minutes was taken.

At the expiration of the appointed time the Federation reassembled.

The Legislative Committee reported, recommending the adoption of the resolution offered by W. W. McClelland to print a daily report of the proceedings.

Adopted.

Robert Howard made a verbal report of the work done by himself and F. K. Foster in organizing the mill operatives of New England, as instructed by Third Annual Session of the Federation.

The primary intention, he said, was to extend the legislative enactments of Massachusetts, which embodied the ten-hour and kindred laws, to Rhode Island, and eventually throughout New England.

In Rhode Island, mill operatives, including children from five to eight years old, worked from 64 to 74 hours per week, and received less pay than in the State of Massachusetts, where the ten-hour rule was adhered to, and where children under ten years were not allowed to work in factories; while those between the ages of ten and fourteen years were compelled to attend school twenty weeks in a year.

The speaker stated that they enlisted the enthusiastic support of Hugh J. Carroll, State representative, Governor Vaughn, and ex-Governor Howard, of Rhode Island.

After a hard struggle a ten-hour bill was introduced in the legislature of that State, which was however finally defeated.

The report concluded with the statement that of the \$100 appropriated by the Federation, \$81 had been expended, leaving a balance of \$19.

Mr. O'Sullivan corroborated the statements of Mr. Howard in regard to the mill operatives of Rhode Island.

A vote of thanks was tendered to Messrs. Howard and Foster for their efficient services. Also to Hugh J. Carroll, member of Rhode Island State legislature, for his efforts in behalf of the oppressed mill operatives.

The Secretary, for the Legislative Committee, submitted the following report, which was read:

#### REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

Haverhill, October 2, 1884.

Gentlemen: I am prevented, by unavoidable and unforeseen circumstances, from the contemplated pleasure of being with you in person. I deeply regret my misfortune. I ask your charity for the report which I have the honor to send you. In laying down my position as Secretary of the Federation, I do so with an appreciation of the responsibility and honor of the office, greatly heightened by the experience of the year past. I am highly sensible that my omissions may be found many, but they are not the result of willful inattention.

I have the honor to submit the following report:

To the Officers and Members of the Fourth Annual Congress of the Federated Trades:

Gentlemen: In presenting my report as Secretary for the year past I am conscious that its chief interest will consist of the future possibilities it suggests rather than in its record of objects attained. The lack of funds has seriously crippled the work of the Federation, and this, coupled with an organization lacking cohesiveness, has allowed small scope for effective expenditure of effort. My experience and observation has convinced me, however, that in a Federation of Trades lies the key to the solution of the labor problem, and I believe this present Congress can initiate such a movement as will be productive of incalculable good to the working people not only of America but of the civilized world.

#### ORGANIZATION.

It is well, in the first place, for us to recognize the fact that the labor movement in this country is largely in a tentative stage. No well-defined, scientific and systematic basis of organization prevails. Each trade is groping blindly after results, with more or less defective machinery and imperfect perception of methods and issues. With a few notable exceptions, our labor societies have yet to withstand a period of storm and stress. Low dues, partial organization and neglect of business principles have hitherto proven insuperable obstacles to the full measure of success.

From past failure evolves present betterment and future perfection. No observant eye can fail to see that the spirit of organization is abroad in our land. The feeling of unrest among those who work with their hands is crystallizing into a desire for action. Sisyphus is weary of forever rolling the stone of toil up the Hill of Difficulty, and is looking about him for a machine to take his place. Independence is supplanting submission in things material as well as mental.

The mob comes before the army, the impulsive strike comes before the deliberative

Congress; the State street massacre and Concord bridge ushered in the Declaration of Independence. Thus it is that the forces of organization have been stimulated by the necessities of labor.

The nominal triumph of Jay Gould over the telegraphic brotherhood; the defeat of the Fall River operatives after months of gallant struggle against heavy odds; the bitter contest yet raging in the Hocking valley—these, and many other repulses sustained by organized labor, are arguments not against the principle of organization and the spirit of resistance to oppression, but for the more perfect unity of wage workers into a league whose discipline and power will win victory.

The past twelve months have been memorable for the progress made in organization. Unions, local, national, and international, have been formed, and the membership of existing societies largely augmented. Trades assemblies and short-hour leagues have sprung into being from the necessities of the time, and all signs give evidence that the hour is approaching when a general advance may be made all along the line.

Your Legislative Committee have assisted in the way of organization, wherever practicable, but are conscious that much yet remains to be done, and would recommend that the present Congress appoint

#### STATE ORGANIZERS.

whose commission, issued by the Federation, would be an official guarantee of their authority to speak for and represent the central organization of trades unions. Members of the Legislative Committee could be constituted State Organizers in their respective localities, and members of the national or international unions represented in this Federation could receive the appointment for States not directly sending delegates to the Congress.

#### STRIKES.

While conscious of the fact that the strike is an industrial war, whose precipitation is to be avoided if possible, and whose consequences are often lamentable, we are yet convinced that this war is sometimes a necessity, as affording the only alternative against outrageous injustice and intolerable oppression.

We, therefore, do not hold with those theorists who would ignore present social conditions, and who strive to direct the labor movement in pursuit of some will-o'-the-wisp millennium, grounded neither upon the capabilities of human nature nor the dictates of common sense. We must walk before we can fly, and we believe the gaining of higher wages, and shorter hours to be the preliminary steps toward great and accompanying improvements in the condition of the working classes. We contend that the strike, when based on justice, conducted with discretion, and used as a last resort, is a perfectly legitimate weapon, whose force is moral as well as physical, and whose results are often more beneficial than its apparent ending would indicate. We, therefore, urge our constituencies to so shape their policy that in times of trouble they may act upon the advice of Polonius to Laertes:

"Beware  
Of entrance to a quarrel; but, being in,  
Bear it, that the opposer may beware of thee."

In accordance with a resolution passed at the last Congress your Secretary attempted, commencing with the first of last November, to

keep a record of the more considerable strikes taking place in the jurisdiction of the Federation. After four months had passed, receiving little co-operation from those to whom he had written for assistance, and conscious that the meager accounts of labor troubles transmitted by the Associated Press were of little value and would furnish but insufficient data, he thought it best to discontinue the enterprise until more effective machinery could be supplied by the Federation.

The result of my labor for the four months, roughly estimated, would be as follows:

Whole number of strikes recorded.....	98
Number of employees implicated.....	53,000
Strikes against a reduction.....	50
Strikes for an increase.....	7
Strikes to establish a scale.....	3
Strikes against non-union men.....	5
Strikes for less hours.....	3
Strikes for back wages.....	3
Strikes against signing contracts.....	2
Strikes against shop exactions.....	3
Cause not given.....	22

Of the trades among which the strikes took place the proportion of strikes was as follows:

Miners ..	9
Printers ..	6
Metal Workers ..	17
Leather Workers ..	15
Building Trades ..	9
Railroad Employees ..	9
Textile Operatives ..	10
Laborers.....	4
Miscellaneous ..	24

#### Of the results:

Successful ..	13
Failures ..	15
Compromised ..	5
Not recorded ..	65

I recommend that during the next year printed blanks be furnished the officers of the Federation, and that a system of statistical reports relative to strikes be gathered in this manner, to be tabulated by the secretary, thus forming a valuable record for future reference.

#### THE EIGHT-HOUR QUESTION.

This subject is one deserving the full and careful attention of the Congress. No more important remedial measure is contained in the demands of the labor-reform movement, important not only because of the direct benefit it would give to the working class through relieving the labor market, affording the individual time for rest, recreation and study, but also from the great indirect good sure to accompany the material, mental, and moral opportunities resulting from the lessening of the hours of toil.

In accordance with a resolution passed at the last Congress, the Secretary of the Legislative Committee addressed a letter to the chairman of the National Committee of both Republican and Democratic parties requesting them to define the position of their respective organizations upon the enforcement of the eight-hour law and other labor measures.

From Chairman Sabin no reply was received. From Chairman Barnum came the following reply:

Lime Rock, Conn., March 11, 1884.

My Dear Sir: Your favor of February 29 has been received, and contents duly noted. An answer will have to be deferred until a meeting of the full committee, as no expres-

sion from them on the several questions propounded has ever been had.

Trusting this will not inconvenience you, I am,

Very truly yours,

W. H. BARNUM, Chairman.  
FRANK K. FOSTER, Esq., Secretary,  
10 Wendell street, Cambridge, Mass.

No further communication has reached me, but a subcommittee of your Legislative Committee appeared in person before the Committee on Resolutions of both the National Conventions, and their reports will be given elsewhere.

It appears to be the generally expressed desire of the societies represented in this Federation that it assume the initiative in a national movement for the reduction of the hours of labor. Sporadic attempts of individual trades in certain localities have met with varying degrees of success, but there is little doubt that a universal, centrally directed advance would prove both practical and triumphant. To formulate the machinery for this attempt requires your deepest thought. This much has been determined by the history of the national eight-hour law—it is useless to wait for legislation in this matter. In the world of economic reform the working classes must depend upon themselves for the enforcement of measures as well as for their conception. A united demand for a shorter working day, backed by thorough organization, will prove vastly more effective than the enactment of a thousand laws depending for enforcement upon the pleasure of aspiring politicians of sycophantic department officials.

I recommend that all possible means be used to arouse public opinion upon this question, and that a vote be taken in all labor organizations, prior to the next Congress, as to the feasibility of a universal strike for a working day of 8 (or 9) hours, to take effect not later than May 1, 1886. There can be no doubt but that the question of the reduction of the hours of labor is one of the most practical that will attract your attention and it should receive the notice it merits.

#### LEGISLATIVE MEASURES.

The Federation may be made a power in obtaining labor legislation. The increased prominence given to labor issues by political parties of all complexion affords a golden opportunity for labor organizations to present the claims of the reforms they advocate. Much has been done during the past year through the agency of your Legislative Committee, but yet more effective and systematic work should result from future efforts.

The action of the National House, in appointing a special committee on labor, afforded a chance to urge several important laws, and while the outcome of the session was not such as to meet the expectations of labor reformers, a step has certainly been taken in advance. The Federation was represented before both the House and Senate committees in favor of the National Bureau of Labor Statistics, the national eight-hour law, the employers' liability act of Senator George, and the Foran bill, prohibitory of the importation of foreign labor under contract. Special attention should be given to the three latter measures. The Legislative Committee are under obligations to Senators Blair and George and Congressmen Hopkins, O'Neill, Foran, Ferrell, and Lovering for favors extended to them.

While National legislation should not be overlooked, it is, nevertheless, a fact that the State legislatures form the most favorable point of attack and most of the legislative reforms we advocate must be obtained through this medium. Your Secretary has appeared before the legislature of Massachusetts, and urged the passage of bills abolishing prison contract labor, creating a system of weekly payments for corporations, creating an employers' liability act, abolishing the poll tax, and other minor measures. Mr. Robert Howard has done effective work in Maine and Rhode Island toward a ten-hour law, and in New York reforms have been effected in the matters of prison labor, employment of children, and tenement-house cigar making. New Jersey has made striking advances in the better protection of children, in the collecting of statistics, and in the guarding of life and limbs of working people. Labor legislation in Maryland received an impetus through the message of Governor McLane, but the work done has been chiefly preliminary. In Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, more stringent laws are needed for the protection of the miners, and the labor organizations are fully alive to the importance of the issue. Michigan is in the front rank of the movement in this direction, and good results may be looked for from the agitation now carried on in that State, while in Illinois, Kentucky, Iowa, Missouri, and on the Pacific coast labor laws are being passed. If possible, some special committee should be had in each State, whose duty it should be to formulate and advocate such laws as are deemed practicable to present.

#### THE PRIZE ESSAY.

Although the fact that the Federation offered a prize of \$50 for the best essay on trades unions and strikes was widely advertised, but scanty response was made to the invitation to compete, and but four essays are now in the hands of your committee.

The essays now in hand, in the order of their reception, are:

1. By John Doyle, 1222 North Tenth street, Philadelphia.
2. By Gabriel Edmonston, Washington.
3. By Herman Gutstadt, Brooklyn.
4. By Henry M. Thayer, Troy, N. Y.

Your committee would recommend that a special committee be appointed to examine and report on the essays.

#### ORGANIZATIONS OF FACTORY OPERATIVES.

In pursuance with a resolution adopted by the last Congress, considerable effort has been directed during the past year toward the organization of factory operatives. The following meetings have been gotten up directly under the auspices of the Federation, and many other assemblies have been addressed by Treasurer Howard and myself: Central Falls, R. I., November 20, 1883; Woonsocket, R. I., February 12, 1884, weavers; Falls River, February 27,ingham weavers; Fall River, April 10; Woonsocket, R. I. The limited appropriations made (\$100) has precluded extensive work, if possible, it is to be hoped that the Federation will continue its efforts among this class of working people who need help so much.

#### UNIFICATION OF LABOR SOCIETIES.

I have endeavored to get the views of prominent labor men as to the most feasible plan of uniting under one head the labor societies

of this country. I have sent out some 2,000 circulars inviting conference with the Federation in this matter, but with the exception of from unions already connected with the organization, but little response has been made. The delegates from the Cigar-Makers' International Union are instructed to present a proposition which I will not forestall by stating. It appears to me that the radical difference in the views of different societies preclude the idea of unification excepting among the genuine unions. Progressive trades unionism will furnish a broad and enduring basis for societies desiring practical leaguings together. The onward movement must of necessity follow the trade line, both on account of its greater feasibility and the economic soundness of the course.

#### ANSWER TO JARRETT'S LETTER.

Agreeable to instructions received from the Legislative Committee, your Secretary wrote an answer to the letter of Mr. John Jarrett in relation to the position of the Federation on the tariff question. The receipt of the communication was not acknowledged, and no answer has yet been returned.

(Letter appended to report of '83.)

#### REPORTS OF LAST CONGRESS.

In regard to the disposal of the printed reports of the last year's Congress, I have to follow the unpleasant example set in the two preceding reports, in stating that but about fifty per cent. of the edition of 2,700 copies has been disposed of. The resolution levying a per capita tax of \$2.50 per thousand membership on organizations represented in this body, and forwarding therefor each \$2.50 one hundred copies of the report, has not been fully carried out. Two international unions only, the Cigar-Makers and Amalgamated Engineers, have complied with the request, together with most of the trades assemblies. I have forwarded copies gratuitously to many members of legislative bodies, and a detailed report of receipts from the sale of the proceedings is submitted in my financial statement.

One of two things must be done in the future. Either funds must be raised to print an edition gratuitously, or but an abstract of the proceedings must be published.

#### INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

It becomes my pleasant duty to inform you of the opening of fraternal relations between the trades unions of France and America. Last autumn a delegation of fourteen of our French brothers visited this country, sent by syndical chambers, comprising sixty-eight, of the mechanical arts. Their expenses were defrayed by the municipality of Paris. Among the delegates were several members of the national committee of the French Federated Trades, including Mr. Louis Balin, the secretary of that organization. It was my good fortune, during their stay in Boston, to extend the courtesies of our Federation to them, and from the relations thus formed has sprung a correspondence which I sincerely hope may prove fruitful of good in the future.

After the return of the delegates to Paris I received the following communication:

Socialist-Workingmen's League of France,  
Headquarters, 47 Rue de Clery,

Paris, January 7, 1884.

To Frank K. Foster, Secretary of the American League of Trades Unions:

Dear Citizen: Citizens Balin and Ribanier, who were intrusted with the duty of opening up friendly relations with the workingmen's societies of America and the League of Socialist-Workingmen of France, presented their report to the French national committee at their meeting, January 6.

The national committee unanimously approved the conduct of its delegates, and indorsed, in principle, the verbal understanding entered into between its delegates and the American trades unions.

The re-election of the national committee is now taking place. Fifteen members have just been re-elected and there remains five to be re-elected. As soon as the final elections have taken place—end of January—the national committee will appoint its committee on foreign relations. This committee will be instructed to present a report to the national committee, and the latter will decide as to future action.

From this moment, I think I can fully assure you that the national committee will certainly ratify the engagements of its delegates, Citizens Balin and Ribanier.

Believe me, citizen, that our greatest desire is to see friendly relations established between American and French workingmen, and be good enough to assure the members of the American League of Trades Unions that we will use all our efforts to bring about the realization of this desire.

To you, citizen, and to our American comrades, our most fraternal salutations.

By order of the national committee.

VICTOR MAROUCK, Secretary.

A few weeks after the receipt of the foregoing came another communication, this time from the secretary of the committee on foreign affairs, M. L. Herbonet, as follows:

Paris, Feb. 10, 1884.

Frank K. Foster, Sec. etc.:

After the expositions of Amsterdam and Boston, we mutually promised ourselves to get up friendly relations in the world of labor. We recollect this promise and, men of our word, we come to-day to fulfill it.

For this purpose, we embrace with earnestness the project of a Workingmen's International Exposition in Paris, independent of official protection.

The workingmen of all countries have a great interest to see, know, and esteem one another.

An international exposition is able to bring about this end, and all the working people owe it to themselves to join this movement.

It is our duty to conquer the difficulties, to remove the obstacles our governments have approved; and no citizen worthy to be called by the name of workingman is able to say aught against purely social and humanitarian work; no one is able to avoid the question.

Therefore, it is with the most entire confidence that we await your reply; your opinions to be given immediately, as time presses.

Immediately our project is adopted by you, please constitute a committee and give to us your material and moral support. We shall

instantly take the measures necessary to conduct our work to a successful end.

In the hope of success, we send to you our fraternal greeting.

L. HERBONET, Designer,  
Secretary of the Foreign Committee.  
Rue de Pomoniers, 33, Paris.

Knowing that the somewhat ambiguous powers possessed by the Legislative Committee would scarcely permit of our entering into any formal agreement, I thought it best to content myself with conveying to the French foreign committee sentiments of unity on behalf of the Federation of Trades, and assured them that the Congress of 1884 would consider the most feasible plan of universal federation. Correspondence has been maintained with the French committee since that time, and I submit to your consideration the last letter, received by me a short time ago:

Paris, 12 September, 1884.

To the Trades Unions' Central Committee of the United States and Canada:

Dear Citizens: The Workingmen's Federative Union for the French central region, (Socialist-Workmen Federation of France,) in its last sitting, and unanimously, has adhered to the principle of an international federation, the project of which has been spoken of to our delegates when at Boston, (Mass.)

Our Federative Union committee, and conjointly that of the National Federation of France, have just, in consequence, received from all the syndical or local corporative chambers rallied to our party, full powers to plan with you any measure thought best to secure the carrying out of said organization.

As soon as the Chicago Congress be opened we expect to be informed of any resolution concerning it that your delegates may adopt.

The increasing miseries incurred by our fellow-workers all over the world render it more imperative than ever that the whole of workmen's federations, whatever their nationalities, should aggregate in such a fraternal way that the tie would at last become indestructible, without which understanding victory over our actual tyrants, the capitalists, could never be attained.

Be so kind as to convey to the members of your annual Congress the best feelings we entertain, in fact, towards all of you.

Our cheers for the workmen's federations of the world!

And long life to the workmen, wise enough to depend on themselves, on the exertions of their own class members only to conquer!

Yours fraternally,

LOUIS BALIN,

Secretary to the Federative Union of the Central Region.  
(Union Federative Committee Federal.)

P. S. — Our annual congress (Federation of the Socialist-Workmen of France) is to be held at Rennes, and opened on the 18th of September next. The order of the day, previously adopted is as follows:

1st. Of our syndical chambers' attitude towards the recent state law, which is to regulate now the working of the trades unions in France.

2. Of the average situation of work people employed in arsenals, factories, railways, posts and telegraphs of the state in France.

3d. Of the duration of day work and its limitation.

4th. Courts of justice relating to handicraft affairs only.

5th. Agricultural, commercial and industrial crisis.

6th. Administrative questions.

Gentlemen of the Fourth Congress, in leaving this matter in your hands, I do so with the deepest concern for the success of the movement to which it relates. A federation of the workers of the world has long been the dream of idealists; it remains with you to make it reality. In the old war for the birth of our Republic, France fought side by side with us. In this still older war for the creation of the Republic of Labor, her sons and daughters are enlisted under the common banner of the social movement. The labor question is practically the same the world over; it varies in degree, not in kind. Labor knows no country, and the laborers of the world should clasp hands for their common weal. With industrial unity, barbaric war cannot exist. A universal federation would be of inestimable material and moral benefit. Begin the good work by ratifying and consolidating the spirit of fraternity extended to you by the trades unions of our sister republic across the Atlantic.

I hope and recommend that the Congress will send a formal memorial to the French federation, and that at least a monthly correspondence may be kept up, so that mutual knowledge of a progress may be had by those engaged in social work and study.

#### CONCLUSION.

In concluding this hastily-written report, I will do so with a feeling of regret that I am not able to submit it in person and explain some of the defects in its completeness. As Secretary of the Federation, I have not been able to devote that time to its work which it deserved, both on account of my own preoccupation and the insufficient provision devised by the Federation. Aggressive and constant work is needed to build up the Federation. A secretary who can devote at least half, if possible the whole, of his time to it is a necessity. The clerical work of the office is something which must be experienced to be appreciated. I am under obligations to the labor press of the country for favors shown and also to many individuals. I think that many unions who cannot afford to send delegates would be glad to connect themselves officially with us in a less expensive manner. The Congress should make itself a center of trades unionism and the head of the *bona fide* trade societies of the country, directing labor legislation in uniform channels, acting as the mouth-piece for organized labor, the high tribunal of appeal against oppression and greed.

With the highest expression of regard toward the assembled delegates, and the sincerest wishes for the growth of the Federation, I have the honor to be

Yours fraternally,  
FRANK K. FOSTER,  
Secretary.

The report was referred to a committee of five, consisting of Messrs. Hogan, Askew, Do-  
ran, Ogden, and McClelland.

Adjourned.

## SECOND DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Congress was called to order at the appointed time by the President, W. J. Hammond.

The roll of officers and delegates was called and absentees noted.

A congratulatory message was received from the Amalgamated Labor Unions of New York City, and the Treasurer was ordered to send a suitable reply.

On motion, it was ordered that a committee of five be appointed, to whom all resolutions shall be submitted, unless otherwise ordered.

The President appointed the following as the Committee on Resolutions: C. W. Rowan, Aug. Stirmel, W. R. Ramsey, J. B. Waterhouse, G. Edmonston.

Mr. Ramsey offered the following:

**RESOLVED**, That this Congress respectfully but earnestly protest against the attitude assumed by President Chester A. Arthur in refusing to appoint a chief of the Labor Bureau of Statistics.

Adopted.

The Committee on Standing Orders submitted the following report:

**RESOLVED**, By the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United

States and Canada, that eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from and after May 1, 1886, and that we recommend to labor organizations throughout this jurisdiction that they so direct their laws as to conform to this resolution by the time named.

Proposed by G. Edmonston, Washington, D. C.

Seconded by Thomas J. Doran, Chicago, Ill. Your Committee on Standing Orders, after a careful investigation of the subject-matter of the above resolution, would respectfully recommend its adoption by the Congress.

F. BLEND, Chairman.

AUGUST DONATH.

JAMES O'SULLIVAN.

J. P. MCGINLEY.

W. W. MCCLELLAND.

After a lengthy discussion, participated in by Messrs. Donath, Oyster, Hogan, Doran, McClelland, Edmonston, Powers, Askew, and Ogden, the previous question was ordered.

On the question of adoption the ayes and nays were called, with the following result:

Ayes — Hammond, O'Sullivan, Edmonston, Ramsey, Smith, Levy, Iowa, Hogan, Donath, Blend, Ogden, Waterhouse, Connolly, McClelland, Stirmel, Powers, Bernard, and McGinley Finnegan, Rowan, Oyster, Doran, Cameron, —23.

Nays—Askew and Oten—2.

Adjourned.

## THIRD DAY—Morning Session.

The Congress was called to order at 10 o'clock A. M. by the President, W. J. Hammond.

Roll of officers and delegates was called and absentees noted.

Minutes of previous day were read and approved.

### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES.

The Committee on Standing Orders made a partial report.

The Committee on Resolutions reported as follows:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fourth Annual Session of the Federated Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada:

Your Committee on Resolutions beg leave to submit the following report:

The resolution offered by Robt. Howard we recommend for adoption. The resolution reads as follows:

"WHEREAS, in view of a constitutional amendment now pending in the National House of Representatives relative to limiting the hours of females and minors employed in textile industries, and in view of the fact that such legislation cannot be made practicable unless it receives a majority vote of the various State Legislatures in its favor; therefore, be it

**"RESOLVED**, That the Legislative Committee and the delegates present use their best efforts to secure the support of the legislators in their respective States in sustaining such legislation."

We also recommend for adoption the following resolution offered by Thos. P. Doran:

"This Congress recommends that a labor exchange be opened in every city and district which has a trade assembly, for the purpose of acting as an intelligence office between employers and employed, and guarding against the confidence games of certain employment agencies which fleece men who seek work."

We have carefully considered the preamble



and resolutions submitted by W. B. Ogden, which reads as follows:

"WHEREAS, it has become evident to the organized labor of this country that the generous gifts of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness guaranteed by our Declaration of Independence are gradually and effectually being swept away from us by the pernicious system known as 'child labor'; and

"WHEREAS, intelligent action can only be taken upon the system after a full knowledge of the extent of said system has obtained; therefore, be it

"RESOLVED, That the Federated Trades of North America deem it necessary that active steps be taken in the near future looking to the total overthrow of said system.

"RESOLVED, That a committee of five members be appointed, whose duty shall be to collect statistics in relation to this system, and report to the Legislative Committee of this body.

"RESOLVED, That the sum of \$10 be placed in the hands of each member of the said committee for correspondence expense, etc."

Your committee fully indorse the subject-matter of the above resolutions, but recommend that in view of the state of our finances no action be taken at this session.

Resolution by Robt. Howard in reference to adjusting the difficulty between the Cigar-Makers' International and the Progressive Cigar-Makers' Union is already covered by the report of the Legislative Committee which was adopted on yesterday.

For the resolution offered by J. B. Waterhouse, we offer the following substitute and recommend its adoption:

"We recommend the passage of such laws by the several States as will put in operation the proper machinery to adjust all difficulties between employer and employees."

Resolutions by T. P. Doran relating to contract system on Government work and the eight-hour law are already covered by platform of principles, and we recommend that no action be taken on them.

Resolution offered by E. W. Oyster relating to the evasion of the eight-hour law, we recommend that it be referred to Standing Orders Committee.

On the resolution presented by Thos. P. Doran, which, as amended by the committee, reads:

"We recommend the formation of Building Trades Leagues for the protection of wages in all cities and towns throughout the country."

We recommend the same for your favorable consideration.

G. EDMONSTON, Chairman.  
AUG. STIRMEL, Secretary.  
C. W. ROWAN,  
W. R. RAMSEY,  
J. B. WATERHOUSE,  
Committee.

The report of the committee was received and, on motion, the recommendation adopted.

The resolution offered by M. D. Connolly, indorsing Mr. August Donath for the position of Commissioner of Labor Statistics, was taken up for action.

On the motion to adopt considerable discussion ensued. Many who favored the resolution thought it ill-advised action after the adoption of the resolution protesting against the action of President Arthur in neglecting to appoint a Commissioner of Labor Statistics.

On motion, the resolution was laid on the table.

A telegraphic communication from the New York Trades and Labor Assembly, expressing approval of the action taken by the Federation in excluding from representation the Progressive Cigar-Makers' Union of Chicago, was received.

The communication was received and ordered to be placed on file.

A communication was received from the Chicago Trade and Labor Assembly, extending to the delegates an invitation to a banquet given in their honor at McCoy's Hotel, on the evening of October 9, 1884.

The invitation was accepted without discussion.

On motion, the Congress adjourned to meet at 2 o'clock P. M.

### THIRD DAY—Afternoon Session.

Congress was called to order by the President, W. J. Hammond, at 2 o'clock P. M.

Roll of officers and delegates called and absentees noted.

Committee on Prize Essays reported progress.

A communication was received from J. P. McDonnel, of Paterson, N. J., urging the Federation to take active steps to push legislation favorable to the laborers' interests.

On motion, the communication was received and ordered to be placed on file.

Messrs. Powers and Bernard offered the following:

WHEREAS, the seamen of the lakes have a bill pending before Congress, known as the Foran bill, for the better protection of life and property on the great inland seas; and

WHEREAS, it is absolutely necessary that said bill should pass in its present shape; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Congress of Confederated Trades and Labor Unions of the United States, now in session in Chicago, Ill., demand the immediate passage of the bill on the reassembling of the Forty-eighth Congress.

The preamble and resolution were put upon their final passage and adopted.

Mr. E. W. Oyster presented the following:

RESOLVED, by the Federation of Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada in Congress assembled, that the thanks of this Congress are hereby tendered to Senator Blair of New Hampshire, Senator George of Mississippi, and Senator Call of Florida, members of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, and to Representatives Hopkins of Pennsylvania, Foran of Ohio, Loring of Massachusetts, O'Neill of Missouri, members of the House Committee on Labor, for their earnest support of the labor bureau bill, the bill to prohibit the importation of foreign labor under contract, the bill for the enforcement of the eight hour law, and other bills in the interest of the working classes of the country.

Adopted, and copies of the resolution ordered sent to the gentlemen named therein.

A resolution was offered by Mr. A. C. Cameron, which reads:

RESOLVED, That the first Monday in September of each year be set apart as a laborers' national holiday, and that we recommend its observance by all wage workers, irrespective of sex, calling, or nationality.

Adopted.

Mr. Fred. Blend and others submitted a set of resolutions embodying the proposed law creating a fund whereby the different organizations under the jurisdiction of the Federation might be able to assist each other in the event of a strike or lockout, and asked for its reference to the Committee on Standing Orders.

The resolutions were referred to that committee.

Mr. Hogan offered the following, which was adopted:

RESOLVED, That the Senate of the United States be requested to take favorable action at the earliest possible moment with reference to the bill now on their table prohibiting the importation of foreign contract labor.

On a motion by Mr. A. C. Cameron, the Secretary was directed to send a copy of the resolution to Senator Blair.

In consequence of the large amount of work in the hands of the several committees, a motion to adjourn at 4 o'clock was carried, to enable them to complete their labors.

## FOURTH DAY—Morning Session.

The Congress was called to order at the appointed time, President W. J. Hammond in the chair.

Roll call of delegates, and absentees noted.

Minutes of previous day were read, and approved after some corrections had been made.

Mr. Aug. Donath rose to a question of privilege. He stated that in a Chicago paper of that morning an interview was published in which he was made to appear as casting reflections on certain delegates, which was wholly untrue, and asked that the Congress go into secret session at 12 o'clock.

On motion, Mr. Donath's request was granted.

The Committee on Resolutions reported as follows:

On the resolution offered by Mr. A. C. Cameron, we recommend it for adoption. The resolution reads:

"RESOLVED, That the best method to secure the organization and unification of labor on a sound financial basis, the adoption and enforcement of an efficient apprenticeship system, the substitution of arbitration for strikes as an honorable means of securing an amicable settlement of all disputes and grievances between employers and employees, be made the special subjects for discussion and action

at the next session of the Congress, and that the officers of this body be requested to announce the fact to the labor organizations of the United States and Canada, with the request that the members thereof make these questions a special study, so that their delegates will come prepared to intelligently discuss and act on them."

On the resolution offered by Mr. W. W. McClelland, your committee offer the following substitute, offered by Mr. Ramsey, and recommend it for adoption:

"RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee of this body be directed to request Senator Blair to introduce a joint resolution to print 300,000 copies of the report of the Committee on Education and Labor, for gratuitous distribution among the various trade and labor organizations of the United States."

The Auditors reported as follows:  
To the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada:

We, your Auditors, beg to report that we have examined the books and vouchers handed to us by your Treasurer and find the same correct, the total amount received being \$336.22 Balance on hand at end of last session... 373.82

Grand total .....\$710.04  
Amount expended, as per vouchers.... 365.07

Balance in Treasury.....\$344.97



There remain still unpaid in the hands of the Treasurer bills for—

Two telegrams .....	\$1.37
Carrying Secretary's baggage through Boston .....	.75
Postage, loss of time by the Treasurer, etc. ....	5.00

Total .....

Which your Auditors recommend for payment; and a bill from P. H. McLogan for \$17.00, for loss of time during the year, which they report back without recommendation.

Respectfully,

JAS. W. SMITH,  
J. B. WATERHOUSE,  
Auditors.

The report was read by the Secretary and the recommendations of the committee adopted.

On motion, the bill of P. H. McLogan was ordered to be paid.

The Committee on Standing Orders made their final report, which reads:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Fourth Annual Session of the Trades Congress:

Your Committee on Standing Orders beg leave to submit the following report:

(See Declaration of Principles, Platform, etc., pages 3 and 4.)

Your committee respectfully recommend to your honorable body that the article providing for benefits from this Federation in the event of strikes or lockouts shall be at once referred to all organizations under the jurisdiction of this Federation for action and, if approved by a two-third vote of the actual membership of this Federation, then it shall become a law; otherwise it is to remain void and inoperative.

FRED. BLEND, Chairman;  
AUGUST DONATH, Sec.;  
JAS. O'SULLIVAN,  
J. P. MCGINLEY,  
W. W. MCCLELLAND,  
Committee.

The report was read and made the special order for the afternoon session.

The Committee on Prize Essays requested an extension of ninety days to complete their labors.

The time asked for was granted.

The special committee on the Annual Report of the Legislative Committee reported as follows:

Chicago, October 9, 1884.

Your special committee, to whom was referred the report of the Legislative Committee, beg leave to report as follows:

In reference to the recommendation that State organizers be appointed, we would suggest that the Congress adopt the following:

Each delegate to this Congress shall be given credentials properly signed by the chairman of the Legislative Committee, giving him authority to act as an organizer under the auspices of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, with a view to making more perfect trade and labor unions that are without a national organization, and securing a larger representation of trade assemblies and national and international unions in this body.

As to the suggestion of the committee that the Secretary of the Congress be authorized to furnish blank forms to each delegate for the gathering of statistical information concerning strikes, we would respectfully recommend the adoption of the same.

The Legislative Committee's suggestion looking to the adoption of an eight-hour law in the near future have been partly covered by the resolution introduced by Mr. Edmonston, and your committee would recommend that no further action be taken.

The report shows a lack of interest in the sale of the Proceedings of last year, and the Legislative Committee state that some action on this matter is necessary. We leave the solution of the difficulty with the Congress.

We recommend that the Secretary of the Congress be instructed to forward to the secretary of the Federative Union of the Central Region of France a suitable reply to the communication received from that body.

Other matters referred to in the report have been acted upon by this Congress.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN F. HOGAN,  
HENRY ASKEW,  
WILLIAM W. MCCLELLAND,  
WM. B. OGDEN,  
THOS. P. DORAN,  
Committee.

The report was read, and, on motion of Mr. Hogan, was taken up *seriatim*.

On motion by Mr. Connolly, the Secretary was instructed to ascertain the number of copies of Proceedings wanted by the organizations represented.

The matter was referred to the Federation in secret session, where it was adopted.

On motion the recommendations of the committee were adopted.

Messrs. Powers and Edmonston offered the following:

RESOLVED, That the incoming Legislative Committee be instructed to extend an invitation to the Knights of Labor to co-operate in the general movement to establish the eight hour reform.

Adopted.

Mr. Edmonston offered the following:

RESOLVED, That the Legislative Committee investigate the interstate-commerce measure proposed in the United States Congress by the Hon. J. H. Ragan, and report their conclusions on the same at the next session of this body.

Adopted.

Mr. Powers introduced a resolution indorsing Hon. Martin Foran for re-election as a faithful representative of the working class.

The resolution was discussed at length by several delegates.

Mr. Askew offered the following substitute: WHEREAS, Many of the evils complained of by wage-workers cannot be removed unless by legislative enactment;

RESOLVED, That we deem it the imperative duty of every trade unionist and wage worker in North America to work and vote for

candidates for legislative honors who have proved themselves true friends to the cause of organized labor.

Pending which the President announced the hour of 12 o'clock.

The Federation went into secret session, during which personal explanations were made and minor details of business transacted, after which the Congress adjourned.

## FOURTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

The Federation was called to order promptly at 2 o'clock P. M. by the President, W. J. Hammond.

Roll of officers and delegates was called and absentees noted.

The consideration of Mr. Askew's substitute for Mr. Powers' resolution was resumed and adopted.

The Auditors made their final report, as follows:

To the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada:

Your auditors have examined the Secretary's report and beg to report that they find it correct as compared with the books of the Treasurer, and find an indebtedness to the Secretary of \$29.91 incurred since the last settlement with the Treasurer, for which he has vouchers. We find that the Secretary had 2700 copies of the Proceedings of last session printed, of which Mr. McLogan took 500 copies and sold 24 copies at 5 cents each. He will pay \$1.20, and return the remaining copies. Mr. Edmonston took 50 copies and sold 8 at 10 cents each, for which amount he has been credited in the Treasurer's report, and the remaining copies are at the disposal of the Federation. Geo. Blair, of New York, took twenty copies at 5 cents each and made no returns as yet; all others taking copies have settled in full.

JAS. W. SMITH,  
J. B. WATERHOUSE,  
Auditors.

(See Treasurer's Report, page 19.)

The report of the Committee on Standing Orders was taken up and considered *seriatim*.

Mr. Oyster offered an amendment to section 1, Platform of Principles, by adding the words "and urge the enactment of eight-hour laws by State legislatures and municipal corporations."

Adopted.

Article IX was debated at length by Messrs. Blend, Hogan, Powers, Donath, Doran and McGinley.

On motion of Mr. McGinley the article was adopted.

Mr. Oyster offered an amendment to section 12 by striking out the word "Government," in second line, and to insert the words, "National, State and municipal."

Adopted.

Mr. Hogan offered an amendment to article III under the title of Organization, by striking out the words "the first Tuesday in October," and to insert "the second Tuesday in December."

Adopted.

Mr. Edmonston offered a resolution in regard to unearned railroad canal grants, which, on motion, was added to Supplementary Resolutions as No. 3. (See page 4.)

On motion of Mr. McGinley, the report of the Committee on Standing Orders was adopted as a whole.

Mr. Stirmel offered the following, which was adopted:

WHEREAS, The Cigar-makers' International Union of America have from time to time urged upon the legislature of the state of New York the abolition of the tenement-house system; and

WHEREAS, The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States have adopted resolutions to urge upon the State legislature of New York to abolish the system known as the tenement-house cigar factories; and

WHEREAS, The same having passed both houses of the legislature and signed by the Governor of the State of New York; and

WHEREAS, The manufacturers in tenement-house cigar factories have contested its constitutionality and brought it before the Supreme Court of said State; and

WHEREAS, Said court has declared it unconstitutional on account of an error, whereupon the Cigar-makers' International Union again presented a revised bill which passed both houses of the legislature, and was signed by the Governor, only to be again declared unconstitutional by the same court; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we denounce the action of the Supreme Court of the State of New York for their blind subserviency to the wealth of that state.

On motion, the price of the Proceedings was fixed at 5 cents per copy.

The election of officers was then proceeded with.

Gabriel Edmonston and August Donath were nominated for Secretary.

Mr. Donath in a few appropriate remarks withdrew, and declared his purpose to vote for

Mr. Edmonston, who was thereon elected by acclamation.

The following were unanimously elected as the Legislative Committee:

Chairman—W. W. McClelland.  
1st Vice-Chairman—J. W. Smith.  
2d Vice-Chairman—Richard Powers.  
3d Vice-Chairman—J—as. O'Sullivan.  
4th Vice-Chairman—Fred. Blend.  
5th Vice-Chairman—W. B. Ogden.  
6th Vice-Chairman—Jos. Bernard.  
Treasurer—Robert Howard.

Mr. Hogan moved that when we adjourn, it be to meet in Washington, D. C., on the second Tuesday in December.

Adopted.

A vote of thanks was tendered to the Chicago Trades Assembly; also to the retiring officers for their able and efficient services.

Twenty-five copies of "John Swinton's Paper" were received with thanks.

The Fourth Annual Session adjourned *sine die*.

### TREASURER'S REPORT FROM CONVENTION 1883 TO 1884.

#### INCOME SHEET.

August 24th, balance in hand.....	\$373 82
Received from German Typographical Union .....	12 50
Received for Reports from Secretary...	45 42
By cash from Secretary.....	10 00
For Reports from Fall River Spinners' Union .....	2 50
Jos. Bernard, Lake Seamen's Union, levies .....	20 00
For Reports from Gabriel Edmonston..	80
William W. McClelland, Amalgamated Engineers, levies .....	20 00
Tailors' National Union, representatives dues, James Smith .....	10 00
Columbia Typographical Union, No. 101, Washington, D. C., representative dues .....	10 00
Cincinnati Typographical Union, No. 3, Representatives dues .....	10 00
Assembly 280, Queen's City K. of L., representative dues .....	10 00
Brotherhood of Carpenters, P. J. McGuire, levies .....	20 00
International Typographical Union levies .....	40 00
Typographical Union No. 16 Chicago, representative dues .....	10 00
Cigar-Makers' Union No. 14.....	10 00
National Granite-Cutters' Union, levies .....	20 00
Federation of Trades, Washington, D.C. Cincinnati Trades Assembly .....	10 00
International Furniture Workers .....	10 00
C. W. Rowan, International Cigar-Makers' Union .....	40 00
Chicago Trades Assembly .....	10 00
Bricklayers' Union No. 4, New York, for Reports .....	2 50
Bookbinders' Union, New York.....	2 50
Received for Reports, P. H. McLogan..	1 20
Illinois State Federation, J. P. McKinley.....	10 00
Cigar-Makers' Union, No. 54.....	10 00
Total income up to close of Convention.....	\$731 24
Total expenditure up to close of Convention .....	543 20
Balance in hand .....	\$188 04

#### EXPENDITURE SHEET.

Paid for copying press.....	\$ 25 00
Stamps and cost on order.....	1 15
To Frank K. Foster, for organizing...	8 20
To Robert Howard, organizing.....	7 80
Cost of printing the Reports of Convention .....	154 00
Cost of printing letters for distribution..	20 00
Cost of money order .....	15
Expenses for organizing Woonsocket, R. I., hall, printing, men's wages, etc.	26 85
To Frank K. Foster, organizing Fall River .....	12 50
To Frank K. Foster, organizing Fall River .....	5 50
Telegram to Washington .....	50
To Robert Howard, for holding ten-hour meeting in Woonsocket, R. I.....	13 30
To Robert Howard, organizing in Lawrence, Mass.....	10 00
To F. K. Foster, 20 days' labor.....	60 00
To F. K. Foster, postage, etc.....	4 76
To F. K. Foster, miscellaneous expenses .....	10 86
Printing 1,000 circulars, J. Mandeville.	4 50
Two telegrams answering greetings from convention .....	1 37
Expressing baggage from depots .....	75
Treasurer's expenses during the year..	5 00
To P. H. McLogan, President, loss of time during the year.....	17 00
Rent of hall .....	20 00
Printing daily reports .....	10 00
P. H. McLogan, for loss of time during session .....	10 00
Stationery, ink, pens, etc., for Congress .....	95
Janitor's services for Congress.....	8 00
Traveling expenses, etc., for Treasurer attending Convention, owing to not being a delegate .....	75 00
To Frank K. Foster, printing and loss of time .....	29 91
Cost of sending order.....	15
Total expenditure .....	\$543 20
Balance in hand .....	188 04
	\$731 24



